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SECTION I

THE TRIBES OF ALBANIA AND MONTENEGRO

1. The Tribal System in North Albania

The tribal system seems to be a social stage through which mankind normally passes. Within historic times Europe was a welter of tribes, from which in the course of years have been evolved the present "Powers"—Powers which themselves are compounded each of several racial elements and whose frontiers are in a constant state of flux. 174

In Europe it is only in the Balkan peninsula that the tribal system survived intact into the twentieth century. The Great War has broken up the last tribe lands of Europe—Montenegro and North Albania; and as I lived for some time in each previous to the catastrophe, it seems worth while to record all the details I managed to collect about these interesting relics of a distant past.

The Balkans were tribal in Herodotus's day. Strabo (*ob.* A.D. 25) gives a clear account of the Illyrian and Epirotic tribes who is his time dwelt on the east coast of the Adriatic and had recently been subdued by Rome. "The Istri," says he, "are the first people on the Illyrian coast contiguous to Italy and the Carni. The present government has advanced the limits of Italy to Pola, a city of Istria." Now again, 1,900 years later, Italy has "advanced her limits"—and included Pola, and hankers after other districts which Strabo describes as under Roman rule. "Next come the Japodes, who are a warlike people, but were completely subdued by Augustus . . . the country is poor and the people live mainly on spelt and millet. Their armour is of the Celtic fashion. Their bodies are punctured like those of the other Illyrian and Thracian people." Next come the Liburnians with a city Scardona and a navigable river (the Kerka), and then the "coast of the Dalmatæ and their naval arsenal Salona. They were long at war with the Romans and had fifty considerable settlements, some of which had the rank of cities. Augustus burnt them down . . . then follows the river Narenta, and the peoples of the neighbourhood are the Duorizi, Ardæi, and Pleraii. . . . The Romans drove the Ardæi into the interior because the coast was infested by their piracies, and forced them to cultivate the land. But, as the country was barren, the nation was entirely ruined and nearly extinguished. The same happened to neighbouring nations. People once very powerful are now extinct or 175 105 101

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reduced to the lowest conditions, as the Antariatæ, Ardæi, and Dardani among the Illyrians, and the Triballi among the Thracians."

"Augustus burnt them down"—but their descendants survived. Many a Balkan tribesman became a Roman Emperor, and Rome no longer rules the Balkans. A race is seldom, if ever, extirpated. Probably many of our conquered races will survive the British Empire.

Strabo, going southward, mentions—in the Bocche di Cattaro—the city Rhizon (Risano), then Lissus (Alessio) and Dyracchium (Durazzo), with much detail regarding climate, crops, and population. Of great interest is his exact definition of the frontier where Greece begins, putting it much farther south than the present one. He describes the Epirote tribes, Threspoti, Cassiopæi, Amphilochi, and Molotti, and says as you sail into the Ambracian gulf (the gulf of Prevesa), on the south side are the Greeks and the temple of Apollo Actius, and on the north are "the Cassiopæi, an Epirote tribe extending as far as the recesses of the gulf. The Amphilochi are Epirotes, as are all those who inhabit the rugged country situate above and close to the Illyrian mountains. . . . With the Epiroti are mixed the Illyrian nations, some of whom are situate on the southern side of the mountains." He names eleven more tribes and states: "Formerly each of these nations was under its own Prince, save the Enchelii, whose chiefs descended from Cadmus and Harmonia. . . . The Molotti were subjects of Pyrrhus Neoptolemus, son of Achilles, and his descendants, who were Thessalians. The rest were governed by native princes. Some tribes were continually striving to obtain mastery over others, but were finally subdued by the Macedonians. They gave the name of Upper Macedonia to the country above Lyncestis, Pelagonia, Orestias, and Elimia. . . . Some writers extend the name Macedonia to all the land as far as Corcyra (Corfu), assigning as reason the mode of cutting the hair, their language, their use of the chlamys, and similar things in which they resemble the Macedonians. Some of them, however, speak two tongues. On the dissolution of Macedonia they fell under the Roman power. . . . At that time the whole of Epirus was well peopled . . . at present a great part is uninhabited, and the inhabited parts are in the state of villages or in ruins. Even the oracle of Dodona is deserted. . . . Persons who hold office among the Thesproti and Molotti are called *Peligones*, as among the Macedonians. . . . The country now called Macedonia was formerly called Emathia."

This is a lucid account of the tribal conditions at the beginning of the Christian era, conditions not yet quite dead. Traces of the language common to these Macedonian, Epirote, and Illyrian people are still found in Albania. "E Mathia" means "The Great." The Albanian tribe still has a nominal chieftain, and is ruled by a council of "pelaki"

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(peligones). Lychnidis, the Roman name for the lake of Ochrida, is possibly the Albanian "Licheni," a lake. And the Molotti, or Molossi, may mean mountain men, as does the Albanian Maltsor, from Maltsia mountains. (Usually incorrectly spelt Malessori, an Italianized form, it being against the principles of Italian to put "lt" together.)

The Romans drove the Illyrian tribes into rugged ground. Similarly in North Albania of to-day the tribes owe their continued existence in a great part to the mountains. Conquerors always take the fat lands, leaving the lean to the conquered—if they leave them any. That many descendants of the ancient people survived is shown by the tradition to-day in the mountains that "Latini" or "Pagani" or "Anas" were living on the lands when the ancestors of the present tribes arrived. "Anas" is Albanian for "indigenous."

Roughly speaking, the man who tilled the soil and who herded beasts has been rudely displaced three times on the west side of the Balkan peninsula. (1) By the invading Roman. (2) By the invading Serb. (3) By the invading Turk.

The history of the present tribes is mainly that of the third displacement. Each tribe has a tale of origin. Unfortunately first the Balkan wars of 1912–13 and then the Great War interrupted and ended my work before I had collected them all. I give such details as I gathered.

The Albanian tribe (Fis) descends from one male ancestor (or several). All persons tracing descent from the same male ancestor, no matter how distant, are reckoned "brothers and sisters," and are not intermarriageable. The law of exogamy is most strictly observed. The heads of families know by heart surprisingly long pedigrees—knowledge of great importance, as both marriage and blood vengeance are regulated by consanguinity. We may be certain that groups which will not intermarry have in truth a common male ancestor. Women do not count. The child, I was told, has none of its mother's blood. Whence it follows that tribes which continually intermarry because they have not a common male ancestor are, in fact, often very closely related on the female side, having given daughters to, and taken wives from, each other for generations. But they jeered at me heartily when I suggested this.

Tribal instinct is far stronger than Church law. Many of these exogamous tribes are Catholic. The Catholic Church prohibits the marriage of second cousins—but no further. I asked an Albanian Franciscan, a tribesman himself, how he reconciled this with his strongly expressed opinion that to marry "one's own blood," however remote, was incest. "Suppose some fourth or fifth cousins asked you to marry them, could you, as priest, refuse?" He was much upset.

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of Geg Laz would be intermarriageable. He said gravely that there was no knowing what the future would bring. People might learn bad ways from abroad. For his part he hoped that so long as the world lasted Hoti would never marry its own blood.

He was very certain that Geg Laz and his family were Catholics. The names in the pedigree indicate that they were Albanophone. Only one, Vuksan, is Slav.

3. *Kastrati.*—This consists of some five hundred houses on the mountains between the Hoti and Skreli tribe lands. The name is probably derived from the Roman fort (*castrum*) which guarded the road round the foot of the lake. "Kastr" as a place-name occurs elsewhere in Albania. The Kastrati were evidently a powerful tribe, for in 1403 we find Alexius Kastrati headman in a list of Albanian chiefs who are rewarded by the Venetians with gifts of cloth. Fine cloth was much coveted by the Albanians and appears often as payment of service.

Three hundred houses of Kastrati are of ancient Albanian origin. They trace descent from one Delti, or Dedli, who came with his seven sons from Drekalovitch, a part of the Kuchi tribe. The Drekalovitch trace descent from the Berisha (see below), which is the oldest of the tribes. When they arrived they found other inhabitants there who are said to have been Slavs, and from whom the other two hundred houses trace descent. All are now Albanophone, and the majority Catholic; the rest Moslem. The groups are intermarriageable.

4. *Skreli.*—A tribe of one bairak in the valley of the Proni Thaat, mainly Catholic, stated that it came from Bosnia some three hundred years ago. The name is said to derive from Shen Kerli—St. Carlo, possibly the patron saint of a church which has been destroyed, as they now have St. Nikola of Bari as patron.

5. *Klementi*, often called by the Albanians Kilmeni.—A large and widely spread tribe of four bairaks—Seltzi Vukli, Boga, and Nikshi. They are said to descend from the four sons of Kilmeni or Klimenti, who fled with them vaguely "from the north," about thirteen generations ago. Baron Nopcsa states that they moved from the neighbourhood of Gusinje at the beginning of the seventeenth century and settled at Vukli.

They are recognized as an old tribe by the Albanians. The four bairaks are intermarriageable, it having been decided they were sufficiently far removed by now. But in view of the strong feeling against "marrying one's own blood," in other tribes probably, in spite of the tale, there may be other blood in some of them. It has been said that they were different stems, and were gathered into one tribe by Klimenti, a mission priest. Be this as it may, they are some of the finest and most intelligent of the tribesmen.

The Tribes of Albania and Montenegro

Seltzi—three hundred houses, all Catholic—is at the head of the Tsem valley, a lovely spot. It is divided into Djenovich Seltzi, which forms the majority and traces descent from the reputed ancestor Kilmeni, and the Rabijenovich Seltzi, which is of another stock, and some say is related to a tribe near Rijeka in Montenegro (? Tzrmnitza).

Vukli lies at the other source of the Tsem and consisted of ninety-four families, all Catholic.

Boga is at the head of the Proni Thaat, above Skreli. Seventy-five families, all Catholic. Boga intermarries much with Thethi. Nikshi, one hundred and fifty-four houses, almost all Moslem, lies between Boga and Vukli. All these people winter on the plains near Scutari to feed their flocks. They, too, have suffered much from the new frontier, which was purposely drawn by the Montenegrins so as to cut the road and make their journeys to the plain and town very difficult. Montenegro and the Serbs hoped thus to force Klimenti to fall into their hands, and the authorities sent by the Powers to delimit frontiers were too ignorant of the manner of life of the people to see into the matter. So-called "strategical" frontiers, drawn heedless of economic needs, are more likely to promote war than to prevent it.

6. *Lohe*, or Lohja, a small tribe of one bairak, consisting of eighty Moslem and forty Catholic houses. Of mixed descent from Shlaku and Pulati. Probably families flowed down into this more fertile district not far from the lake when Serb rule broke up, for "Loho" and its mills are mentioned in 1348 by Stefan Dushan among the districts which are given to the Church.

7. *Rechi*, a small Moslem tribe, gives same tale of origin as Lohja; and has also a few houses of "Anas."

8. *Rioli*, on the river, obviously takes its name from *rivulus*, another memento of Roman days. It is all Catholic. The cloth-fulling mills still clack on the river, and perhaps stand in the same place as some of those given away by Dushan. Like Rechi-Lohja, it is of mixed descent. These eight tribes form the Maltsia e Madhe group.

There are also on the shores of the lake two small Moslem tribes, Kopliku and Grizha. Kopliku as "Kopelnik" is also one of the places mentioned in Tsar Dushan's list. Between Kopliku and Scutari is the only Serb village of the whole district, Vraka, which derives its name from the Saints Vrachi: The Healers, SS. Cosmo and Damian, to whom the church was dedicated. Vraka had a thousand inhabitants, who all trace descent from various Bosnians, Herzegovinese, and Montenegrins, who in recent times fled from blood-vengeance and sheltered in Turkish territory. Far from being grateful for shelter they are a perpetual source of trouble. They are used by the Serbs as a "jumping-off ground" for complaints, and though they have their own Church

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days of the oncoming of the Turk. Lek fought on the side of Venice, and when Scutari fell in 1472 he and many refugees fled to Italy along with the Venetians. But when Sultan Mahommed II died in 1481 and his sons fought for the throne, Turkish rule in Europe was in a critical state. The Serbs, however, helped to re-establish it by fighting on behalf of one of the claimants. During the confusion Lek Dukagin returned to his homelands, as did also Ivan Tzrnojevitch, the founder of Montenegro. Ivan became a vassal of the Turks, and is known to this day in Montenegro by his Turkish title, Ivan Beg. Lek Dukagin is not recorded to have done so. That he ruled as he pleased in the mountains is shown by his great fame there. It is said that in 1464 Pope Paul II had excommunicated him for his most un-Christian code.

Of the descendants of the Dukagini two are recorded as turning Moslem. Some settled in Venice—a "Luca Ducagini Duca di Pulato e dell stato Ducagini" is recorded in Venice in 1506. The Bib Doda family, who, until the Great War, were the hereditary chiefs of Mirdita, claimed descent from the Dukagini, but could give no definite pedigree. The tribe Bijelopavlitch in Montenegro traces descent from Paul i Bardh (Paul the White), brother or nephew of Lek.

Though Lek enforced the Canon, it so much resembles tribe law of other lands that we cannot believe he originated it in the fifteenth century. What he evidently strove to do was to check crime by inflicting certain punishments. That—as the tribesmen always declared—he both ordered the taking of blood and fixed a punishment for so doing, is incredible. He probably modified and added to existing law and strictly enforced it.

This is the Canon so far as I know it. Dom Kol Ashti, the very worthy priest of Shkreli, gave me many facts. Others I learnt from Mgr. Miédia, now Archbishop of Scutari. Much I picked up in my travels, and by comparing all have compiled the following account. In Maltsia e Madhe the Canon was much modified. Among the Dukagini it was in more primitive form. The Turkish Government had somewhat modified it; but everywhere it emphasized the tribe. The tribe has jurisdiction only within its lands.

MURDER WITHIN THE TRIBE

Murder may be the result of a quarrel or it may be a blood-feud, the cause of which is more or less remote. In either case the man who has taken blood flies at once to a safe place outside the tribe. Any house is bound to give him hospitality. In the case of a feud, he is regarded as a most unfortunate man who has but done his duty. He at once proclaims his deed. The headmen of his tribe then meet and

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visible mark has a strong effect on primitive and childish minds—witness national flags and school and college colours. The missionizing "popes" of the Orthodox Church had every reason to denounce a practice which thus "sealed" part of the population and made it turn a deaf ear to the attractions of Byzantium.

To this day the object of the Orthodox is to wipe all that belongs to Rome from the peninsula. I found the bitterest dislike, even among the educated classes; and among the peasants neither side would admit that the other was Christian. In early days the struggle must have been even cruder than to-day.

3. Tattooing in Albania

We will trace these symbols farther south. In North Albania I noticed that every Catholic woman among the five large tribes (Kastrati, Shkreli, Hoti, Gruda, and Klementi) wore, if not too poor, a large silver filigree crescent and star stitched to the crown of her flat cap; or a similar design was embroidered and the "star" then larger. Asked why they wore a Turkish symbol, they crossed themselves and denied the charge indignantly, saying: "We wear it because we always do. It is not Turkish. We are good Catholics." They declared also it was "very old"; and were quite correct. For the sun and moon symbol, as we have seen, was long pre-Turkish in the Balkans. I next found that the bulk of these tribes-folk, both men and women, are tattooed on the back of the hand, the forearm, or the breast (seldom on all) with a cross; but never a plain cross. It has a crescent above and below it; or the arms terminate in small circles, as do those on Byzantine coins; or some in circles and some in crescents; or the cross is in the "sun-wheel" form. None of these people at all objected to showing the tattoos. I at once recognized in a simplified form the elements of the Bosnian designs. Most people said they did it because they were Catholics. Anxious to give a reason, one man said it was to ensure you Christian burial if you died abroad.

When I asked the Albanian tribesmen what was the meaning of the circle and crescent on the cross-arms, they said at once it was "Dielli" —the sun; and "Hana"—the moon. The cross was to show you were a Christian. What were the sun and moon for? The only reply was "per bukur" (for beauty). Often they laughed and gave none. Mgr. Ernesto Cozzy, then priest of Rechi and later Apostolic Delegate at Scutari, a Tyrolese whose knowledge of the mountain people was the result of years of sympathetic study, told me: "They have a number of curious pagan beliefs which they will not tell me. I have found that

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they believe in two powers, of Light and Darkness, which are in conflict—Good and Evil. These tattoos are in some way connected with it. So is the Serpent, which they sometimes tattoo and also draw on walls."

I never saw a tattooed snake, but saw some carved on tombs. Mgr. Cozzy, whose work as priest and doctor was beyond all praise, died in 1926—a loss not only to the tribesmen but to science, for his pile of MS. notes on tribal customs was destroyed in the war years, and his probably unrivalled knowledge died with him.

This belief in the powers of Light and Darkness takes us back to Mithraism and Manichæism. That all the tribes believe in this struggle I first learnt in Nikaj, when the thunder crashed on the mountains and my Nikaj guide cried: "Drangoni is fighting Kulshedra." Kulshedra is the evil female power who strives to destroy mankind with storms and floods. Drangoni is the good male power which hurls thunder and lightning and drives her back. As we have seen, the female, according to Mani, possessed but few particles of light and was an instrument of destruction.

The Manichæan belief is shown by Titus Bostrensis Episcopus, who, in *Adversos Manichæos*, tells of a Manichee "asserting strongly and wickedly alleging that the fruits of the earth are created by the sun, which he admires and honours exceedingly. He says that the overwhelming rainstorms are the defence of matter" (i.e. the wicked substance) "and work passionately against the powers of Good" (*v.* Migne, *Series Græca*, vol. xviii, p. 1195). The rain is the sweat of the evil power striving to destroy the good.

The belief in Kulshedra and Drangoni is found all through Northern and Central Albania. I do not know its southern limit. Drangoni can be a man or a male animal. If a boy is born with a feather under his armpit he will be a Drangoni; but his mother must tell no one or he will die at once. This accounts for the extremely small number of Drangonis who survive. I was told that St. George was a Drangoni, which may be the reason of his great popularity in the Balkans.

The Serb tradition that when it thunders and lightens St. Ilija is driving off the storm fiends is possibly another form of the same tale —Drangoni here taking the form of St. Ilija.

Thus deep in the mind of the peasant there lurks still a remnant of the Mithraic and Manichæan beliefs.

A point of interest about the tattoo patterns is that part of the Gruda tribe, the bulk of the Hoti, and all the Shkreli (*v.* Tribes) have a clear tradition of having migrated from places farther north to escape from the Turks. They insist that they were Catholic at the time of the ancestral migration, and may, therefore, descend from one of the northern districts of tattooed aborigines which early came under

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Tattooing and the Symbols Tattooed

The large uncarved wooden crosses in most of the graveyards of Dukagini and Pulati (Fig. 9) show at the ends of the arms either (1) a sun and crescent, (2) a sun alone, or (3) a sun with two notches below it—a transition form in which the carpenter has forgotten what the crescent is and merely chopped notches. The sun-wheel forms the back and the crescent and sun the ends of the arms of the typical wooden arm-chair in which the house-lord sits. Such chairs were used by all the tribes, but are now chiefly found in the further Dukagini tribes. The chip-carved distaffs of the women show the cross frequently; but chip-carving does not lend itself to curves, and the moon appears as an angle on which the cross stands. Some distaffs, however, suggest that their complicated designs are based on rayed curves, though they are now angular.

The cross and rayed sun are also traceable on many of the elaborately knitted socks. Here, owing to the exigencies of the material, the sun is square, but the rays are duly shown.

A rayed sun is part of the elaborate design embroidered on the scarlet cloak of the married Catholic women of Scutari. Of this design, which with variations consists always of similar elements, I have failed to find an explanation. "It must be some old story which we have forgotten," say the embroiderers, who are always men. The sun, an ear of wheat (? feather), a flowering plant, the dove and the serpent always appear. It is given to the bride by the bridegroom on her wedding-day. The sun, the wheat, and the flowers suggest fertility. And the facts that the serpent and dove were symbols of the mother goddess worshipped at Knossos, and that bird and serpent played an important part in Egyptian mythology, show that the origin of this Albanian pattern is, indeed, so old that it is no wonder the embroiderers have forgotten it (Figs. 10 and 11).

The sun and moon were firmly established as symbols in the Balkans long before the Turk arrived. I think that probably the Turkish crescent and star is really the rayed sun and moon, the sun being diminished so as to fit decoratively within the crescent.

On the wall of a house at Vuthaj, when the district was wholly Moslem and almost closed to outsiders, I saw, in 1908, a large rayed sun painted with a slim crescent beside it (Fig. 12, No. 10). More striking yet was the emblem at that time placed over the gate of the Turkish Konak at Prizren. It was a large wooden sun with long rays of unequal length. At the tip of each ray was a small wooden crescent. At this time there was huge excitement over the proclamation of the Turkish Constitution, and I was warned neither to draw nor photograph anything in public. I made, therefore, only a memory sketch (Fig. 12, No. 9), but it gives a correct idea of this curious sign, which, as the

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Relationships and Blood Customs

Uncle (father's brother)—Adsh: this is a Turkish word, but is in common use. There is another word, which is Albanian: "Mighe," also "unghe," but "adzh" is commonly used. 601

Aunt (father's sister)—Hallé.

Nephew (brother's or sister's son)—Nipi, collectively Nipnii.

Niece (brother's or sister's daughter)—Mesé.

Son—I biri.

Brother-in-law—Konati.

Son-in-law—Dhaner. Also used for bridegroom and fiancé.

Sister-in-law—Kunata.

Cousin—Kushrin.

Female cousin—Kushrina.

Husband—Shok, i.e. companion; or Bur, i.e. man.

Father-in-law—Vjeher.

Godfather, sponsor—Kumar. Godfather of baptism—Kumar i pakzimit. [608]

Godfather of haircutting—Kumar i floksh.

Tribe—Fis.

Relations collectively—Dzinije.

Vlaznija, lit. brethren. A large family group within the tribe like the Montenegrin bratstvo.

Mehala—a Turkish word used for a group of related houses, i.e. a Vlaznija.

Shpi—House and house community.

Krue—Head of a Vlaznija or Mehala.

Plak—Old man. Hence an elder—member, that is, of a tribal council. [623]

Zoti i shpis—Lord of the house.

Bairaktar—Standard-bearer. Head of Fis (Turkish word).

2. Blood-brotherhood

"But the flesh with the life thereof which is the blood thereof shall ye not eat" (Gen. ix. 4). 608

"For it is the life of all flesh; the blood of it is for the life thereof" (Lev. xvii. 14). 174

He who ate the blood would take within him the life of the beast—would become, in fact, partly beast. It follows naturally that he who eats the blood of man establishes kinship with him whose life he thus shares. Blood-brotherhood is a very old and widespread custom. "Whenever the Scythians," says Herodotus (Bk. IV, lxx), "form alliances a large earthen vessel is filled with wine; into this is poured some of the blood of the contracting parties . . . in this cup they dip some arrows, a hatchet, and a spear. After some solemn praying the parties who form the contract . . . finally drink the contents of the bowl."

From the lands lying north-east of the Balkans came down neighbours of the Scythians, the Pechinegs and the Comans, and the Bulgars. The Comans, says B. H. Minns (*v. Scythians and Greeks*), were a

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Mongol people. Both Pechinegs and Comans, we hear in contemporary accounts of the Crusades, were used as soldiery by the Balkan princes.

B 101 175 726 A vivid account of Balkan armies in the Middle Ages is given by Nicephor Gregory and by Villehardouin (v. Dufresne Ducange, *History of Constantinople*, 1729), telling of the Latin capture of Constantinople when Count Baldwin of Flanders and the other princes established a Latin empire there, though on their way to a crusade in Palestine.

In 1204 Baldwin was crowned Emperor of Byzantium in St. Sofia with great magnificence, and was about to lead an army eastward when, "on a sudden, like the crash of a great thunderstorm, the terror of a Bulgarian rising stayed them. John, the brother of the first Asan and his successor, with troops levied through all Bulgaria, and not a few of the Scythians who dwell north of the Ister (Danube), fell upon Thrace with violence and greatly endangered the Latin State." Baldwin fought the Bulgars, with terrible slaughter on both sides. But the heavily armoured Crusaders could not cope with the swift Scythians; "some forty thousand Comans, who are a pagan people," ambushed them and overwhelmed them with lances and arrows. The ground was covered with corpses. Many Latins were taken prisoner, among them Baldwin himself, who was never seen again. "And the Scythians, in their fashion, laid waste Macedonia."

The whole of Villehardouin's account of the Fourth Crusade in the Balkans is of high interest for the light it throws on the conditions then prevailing. We see the Balkans reinforced by hordes from the north-east. Russia has always pressed Balkan-ward, and will again. The Turk had not yet arrived on the scene, but the Balkan already was the East, with aims and aspirations different from those of the West—a thing apart from West Europe, with its civilization built upon Rome. The Fourth Crusade was but one of the many vain attempts of the West to establish a permanent footing in the East.

Vain it was. Baldwin II, the last Latin emperor, poverty-stricken, was reduced to obtaining funds by selling the much-treasured relic, the Crown of Thorns, to the King of France, and buying the support of those very Comans who had formerly broken the Latin forces. He did this by swearing an alliance "with these barbarous people. In order to make the treaty more solemn they drew blood from their veins—one giving it to be drunk by the other, believing that from this mixture of blood they contracted a kind of brotherhood . . . which our people, driven by the necessity in which they found themselves, had also to do."

B 608 643 Thus in 1240 did the knights of France swear blood-brotherhood with pagans—a grotesque result of a Crusade which was to free the East of Unbelievers. A French noble, Nariot de Toucy, further cemented the bond by marrying the daughter of Jonas, Prince of the Comans. Vain

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587 law was taken to wife more often than not. To remonstrances the reply was, "She belongs to us," and it was pointed out it was the only way to get a wife without paying for her.

[589] In these districts, if the widow is sold, the bride-price is shared by her husband's family and her father's.

595 A man at Nikaj came to see me who was excommunicate for having
577 two wives—a legitimate wife and the widow of his cousin. He told me
688 he could not possibly put her away because it would be a disgrace to do so. She must stay in the house because she had young children to bring up, and so long as she is in the house he must cohabit with her, for she cannot have another husband. He was unhappy about the excommunication—but one must do one's duty and take the risk.

587 It is perhaps noteworthy that in the districts where this custom
144 is firmly rooted there are no Slavonic place-names and no appearance
103 of any Slavonic blood. The people are all in stature shorter and smaller built than the Maltsia e Madhe people. They are almost all dark-eyed—dark-brown to hazel—and dark-haired. The skull is short, but is round at the back and has not the characteristic flat back of the folk farther north. The hair grows very low on the forehead, especially on the temples, where sometimes it almost unites by a thin line of hair with the outer end of the eyebrow. The eyebrows often nearly meet in the middle. The nose is short and straight. The moustache is sparse and straggly. The beard, such as is seen after a fortnight without shaving, often sparse or patchy.

587 The custom of the levirate may therefore belong to the small,
174 dark, pre-Slavonic people.

The purpose of the levirate in other lands is often said to be to raise up children who are to rank as those of the deceased. Though this may have been the reason in the above-mentioned case of the man who took the very recently married widow of his brother, in the great majority of cases in Albania it is not so; for the widow with sons is the one who has the right to remain, and in fact must remain, in the family house; and therefore it is she who is most frequently the levirate wife. In this matter Albanian custom seems to differ from that in other lands where the levirate is practised.

4. Rights of Husband over Wife

562 No one may beat a woman but her father or her husband. In the mountains a husband had the right to beat his wife if he told her three
593 times to do, or not to do, a thing, and she disobeyed each time. If he
681 orders her not to reply and she does so he may beat her. Even some

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

to find it; only the tortoise knows where it grows. You must, therefore, search for a tortoise's eggs and, having found some, build a little stone wall round them. Then you wait till the mother tortoise comes to see how her eggs are getting on. When she sees the wall, she is very angry, for she knows the little ones will not be able to climb out and so will starve. She butts the wall with her head and pulls it with her paws, and when she finds her efforts are vain, off she goes to find the plant. Presently she comes back with a leaf in her mouth, touches the wall, and down it goes. You then know it is the right plant and you take the leaf from her. Sometimes hobbled horses, grazing on the mountain, touch this plant with their hobbles, which at once break and the horse runs away. It might, of course, be the work of horse-stealers, but undoubtedly sometimes it is the plant. I heard this tortoise tale in many places, for tortoises are very common. Many people knew someone who had successfully tried the above plan—but I never met the man who had done so.

In all these tales of magic and witchcraft it is clear that the beliefs and usages of a remote past have survived. Magic played a great part of old in the Balkans. Thessaly was notorious for its witchcraft.

One tide of invasion after another swept the Balkans. The Romans brought new gods and then came Christianity; and while Christianity struggled for a firm footing, Mithraism wrestled with and almost overthrew it. The inrush of pagan Slavs trampled on old and new alike, and before a new order of things was evolved and established came the Turk with yet other beliefs and usages. As each high-tide subsided the points of the prehistoric rock-bottom have shown above the surface. Each tide in ebbing has left debris; but not one has as yet entirely overwhelmed that rock-bottom.

4. Some Balkan Remedies. Medicine and Surgery in Albania

Magic and disease are so closely connected, that magic and medicine are naturally intertwined also. Nevertheless, remedies other than spells are made use of.

These are largely herbal. Both in Albania and Montenegro one hears often: "Every herb has its disease; every disease has its herb." The sick Albanian peasant always asked me for a "bar" (herb), and the Montenegrin for "trava" (grass or herb).

Among the Albanian tribes were local doctors famed for medicinal lore inherited from their ancestors (carefully guarded secrets); and in all Balkan lands knowledge of herbs is boasted of by many an old woman.

In Albania the word used for doctor was always "hekim." This

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1

salts" was the best remedy for all internal pains and begged for it. As he was refused, he induced his friends next visiting day to bring him some and took a huge dose. The results were disastrous: he collapsed. "This time I made sure he would die," said the doctor. But he did not, and three weeks afterwards he walked home, apparently none the worse.

The Worm of Life.—This singular belief I found common in the Albanian mountains; I can find no parallel to it elsewhere. A worm is said to live in the ear and be the centre of the life of the individual. If the worm dies, the individual dies. I learnt this first in Shala. A very sickly child was brought to me for advice. He suffered from bad earache and headache. I found his ears completely blocked with filth and wax, and one flyblown with maggots in it. I told the parents to take him to the Austrian hospital in Scutari and wrote a note for them to take to my friend, the doctor. As usual they wanted an "ilatch" (remedy) to work an immediate cure. I explained that no ilatch was of use. The ear must be washed out by the doctor. At once there was great excitement. Old Marko, much shocked, explained to me that washing would drown the worm and the child would drop down dead. All were amazed that I should suggest such a thing, saying reproachfully: "But, lady, you who have been to school must surely know the worm of life is in the ear." The wax in the ear, they said, was the worm's excrement. I objected to Marko: "But this is folly. You might as well say that the moisture from the nose proves that a worm lives there." He retorted contemptuously that everyone knew there was no worm in the nose.

The child was not taken to the hospital and no doubt died untended.

Further inquiry showed that this belief in the worm of life in the ear was very general. I have not found it recorded elsewhere; nor is it easy to explain.

An ancient and strange belief that certain animals and women could conceive through the ear existed up to the Middle Ages. Plutarch gives as a reason for cat-worship in Egypt the "fact" that the cat conceives through its ears. A Latin hymn to the Virgin, "Quæ per aures concepisti," offers this belief as explanation of the Immaculate Conception. The ear thus appears to have been regarded as the seat of life—or at least the gateway to it.

Is the Albanian worm of life a last echo of such a belief? It is easier to ask questions than to answer them.

In the section on "Taboo on Showing the Face" I suggest that the habit of covering the ears with a head-wrap may indicate that the ears were a vulnerable spot. It is, at least, an interesting coincidence that ear-protecting and a belief in the ear as a centre of life are found in the same district.

2: Durham B-5 (ca. 1910)1928 EG1 Albania EG1
Hellenic Greece EH5
Greece EH1
Montenegrins EF5

H 302 782 Poseidon would kindly accept it as substitute for the body. In this case evidently he did so.

G 302 852 The Orthodox Church, too, dedicates the child, after immersion and unction, by "clipping off four locks of hair as sign of the Cross, the pope saying: 'The servant of God is shorn in the name of God.' The pieces of hair are mixed with some wax from the candle and dropped into the font by the child's father" (Romanoff, *Rites and Customs of the Greco-Roman Church*). The hair, no doubt, is dropped into the holy water to save it from being used for spells by some wicked person.

My friend Mr. Stroud Read, who has lived much in Greece, tells me that there is a tendency there now to omit the hair-cutting from baptism, the pope sometimes refusing to have it done in church, but that it is done, nevertheless, by the laity at home after returning from the church. Someone is invited to be hair-cutter, and the clippings are dropped into a pan of hot charcoal.

M 852 582 608 The two ceremonies were formerly separate ones in Montenegro. Pope Gjuro told me there used to be two kumstvos (sponsorships): Shishano Kumstvo (shearing kumstvo), and Mokro (wet) or Krsteno Kumstvo (baptism). The former, as a separate kumstvo, is now extinct. It used to carry with it spiritual relationship and prevent the intermarriage of the direct descendants of the sponsor and those of the child's father for several generations. The marriage circle was thus further restricted and drove folk farther afield in search of a wife. Medakovitch, describing the ceremony as done by the laity between 1840 and 1850, says it was done some time after baptism. Three locks were cut in the name of the Trinity and thrown on the dunghill. At that time the ceremony did not form an obstacle to marriage.

A 852 [174] About three years after my nail-scissors had become an ecclesiastical implement I learnt in the Albanian mountains what is probably the most complete form in which the ceremony now survives. It is performed habitually by both Moslems and Christians. The Catholic priests try to suppress this pagan practice, which, nevertheless, their flock considers quite as important as baptism and even more so. A careful study of those pagan practices adopted by one Church and abhorred by the other might throw light on the centres or origin of such practices.

A 852 608 In North Albania the "kumpare i floksh" (sponsor of hair) is chosen when the child is about two years old. He is a man with whom the head of the house wishes to be related. The family being assembled out of doors, the kumpare (conpatrem, compère) sits down on the ground, and first takes another child on his knees to ensure that his "hair child" shall not be the last his parents have. He then takes his "hair child," whose hair as yet has never been cut, and snips off four locks of hair

197 this once widely spoken group. G. S. Lowman[6] says of it,

> "The Albanian language constitutes a distinct branch in the Satem division of the Indo-European languages. It is the direct descendant of the ancient Illyrian of Roman times, together with some Thracian influences. . . . At the present time, two principal dialectal divisions exist, Geg or Northern, and Tosk or Southern, which are more or less mutually intelligible. . . .
>
> "In the course of Albanian history many foreign influences have come to play their part in making the language what it is today. Although the essential structure of the language, and a fair share of the words in common use are of native origin, the vocabulary has been borrowed from outside sources to a far greater extent even than is the case of English. In 1891 Gustav Meyer stated in his etymological dictionary that of 5,140 root-words only 400 were of the original Albanian stock, that 1,420 were Romance, 540 Slavonic, 1,180 Turkish, 840 Greek, and over 700 indeterminable. Later scholars, however, have proved that a considerably larger proportion of words are truly Albanian."

[177]

181 Such careful observers of material culture as Nopcsa and Haberlandt have concluded that *the Ghegs*, in their tools, agricultural implements, furniture, costumes, and most other technological details *are still living in the Hallstatt Iron Age.*

• 174 A single conclusion is therefore as legitimate as it is obvious. *The mountains of Ghegnia were first effectively populated during the middle centuries of the first millennium before Christ.* The pioneers who took over this rugged landscape were Illyrians, whose central territory lay to the northwest. Since they had already lived in Bosnia and Montenegro, they were already adjusted to life in this environment.

172 Fortunately, the materials excavated at Glasinac,[7] the type site of the Illyrian Hallstatt culture, include skeletons as well as artifacts. The date of this cemetery is between 1000 and 500 B.C. The collection of 38 crania shows clearly that the Illyrians were not a homogeneous people in the racial sense. The majority of the skulls are long headed, and represent at least 2 contemporary varieties of Nordic. This is not surprising since most of the Iron Age

[7 see cat. 116, p. 40 b.--Analyst]

[6] Lowman, 1932, p. 271.

172 peoples of Europe were Nordic. However, 13 crania, or one-third of the total series, were brachycephalic. These skulls have flat occiputs, straight sidewalls, broad foreheads, and in the one example in which the nasal bones have been preserved, a long and aquiline nose. They are the skulls of Dinarics, and resemble both the Bronze Age Dinaric skulls from Cyprus, and the Bell Beaker Dinaric crania from early Bronze Age sites in Germany.

All of the evidence which we have indicates that close kinsmen of the Glasinac people were the very ones who settled Ghegnia, at just about the time the cemetery was in use. We have every reason to suppose that *the ancestors of the Ghegs*, in the last 500 years before the Christian era, their pioneer period, *were very much like the people whose remains were buried in the graveyard at Glasinac.* This means that among the Ghegs, characteristic Dinarics were present from the beginning, but probably as a minority in the population.

● 174 Let us return for a moment to the statement that the Ghegs are still living in the Hallstatt Iron Age. This means that no important changes have taken place in their technological processes. If the Illyrians had just as good equipment for tilling the soil, processing foodstuffs, building houses, weaving cloth, etc., as the modern Mountain Ghegs, then they were able to exploit the landscape just as efficiently as their modern descendants. The valleys and upland pastures of Ghegnia could thus have held as large a population then as today.

This assumption cannot be made without a certain amount of correction. The modern Ghegs grind their flour and full their cloth in mills operated by water power. This releases a certain amount of human energy for other pursuits. These mills must have been introduced after the initial settlement. Warfare, which is a characteristic mechanism of population control in upland Ghegnia, has also undergone changes. The Turks introduced both firearms and the *kulla*, or stone castle (fig. 8, *a*), weapons of offense and defense. This combination made murder easier than before, and must have helped reduce the population. On the whole, the forces for increased use of

[1] Weisbach, 1897a, pp. 80–85 and 1897b, pp. 562–76; Coon, 1939, pp. 184–85.

-40b-

[See cat. 116, p. 108.--Analyst]

● 174 the land and decrease of manpower probably counterbalanced each other.

It must have taken several centuries for the pioneers to explore every valley, choose the most favorable sites, and put them into cultivation. In a few centuries more, less favorable lands which could support a thinner population would also have been cleared. But by the beginning of the Christian era, the time when the first outside influence, that of Rome, made itself felt on the fringes of the Gheg mountains, this region may well have been populated to its present capacity. This means that there was no room for Romans or anyone else to settle without armed invasion. Even with armed invasion, as many have discovered, the Gheg mountains are hard to take.

Biologically the significance of this is of course that while the original settlers of our area must have been a mixed lot, they were probably able to fill their country with progeny before any concerted attempts were made by outsiders to invade their territory. The [144] majority of them were undoubtedly Illyrians from Bosnia, while others may have been Thracians from the plains to the northeast. Racially they were probably a mixture of Nordics, Mediterraneans from the Adriatic littoral, brachycephals from the same region, and Pontic Mediterraneans from the Euxine borderlands. They were able to stew in their own genetic juice and produce their own variety of human beings.

175 Roman authors have much to say about the peoples all around Ghegnia, but very little about the mountaineers themselves. This silence is very significant. All of Ghegnia except for the southern portions of Mati and Dibra formed a part of the province of Dalmatia, while those 2 sections of tribes plus what is now central Albania went with Macedonia. The present Tosk country was part of Epirus, which was considered distinct from Greece. While the predecessors of the Tosks

[8] Durham, 1928, p. 14.

[9] Strabonis Geographia, Book 7, p. 457, lines 3–6: ". . . et Drilo fluvius, quo adverso navigatur orientem versus usque ad Dardanicam."

or

καὶ Δρίλων ποταμὸς ἀνάπλων ἔχων πὼς ἕω, μέχρι τῆς Δαρδανικῆς.

1 [Cont. on p. 41b --Analyst]

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia
Albania EG1

can be distinguished although exigencies of space prevent a large drawing of the design being available. The enlarged specimens on the plate are from the embroidery on the japangi shown at " b " and " c ". 291 294 531

No. 1937-6. The third example of embroidery for a japangi has a design worked in vivid orange, violet, emerald green and cerise outlined in white. The dyes are aniline and the result garish. The pattern, too, is not so good, the small four-petalled flowers dominating the design. The striped scarlet and black ground is made of a fine felt.

Those specially interested in the design itself will find a section of each of these patterns sketched by Miss Durham in her article on " Some Balkan Embroideries," in *Man.*, May, 1913, Vol. XXIII, No. 5 ; and she also states in her letters that she has seen the dove and serpent design on the corner of the sleeveless coat which formed part of the wedding dress of the Crown Princess Militza, wife of the Crown Prince Danilo, of Montenegro, which is now in the possession of her friend who was the English lady-in-waiting to the Princess.

C. The Giubba.

No. 1935-62. One of the most elegantly cut of all the garments in the collection is the giubba, a sleeveless coat, figured on Plate XIII. It is part of the indoor dress of the women and girls of Scutari, whether of the Christian or Moslem faith, and is worn over the shirt and full trousers or trousered skirt. The skirt-like enlargement of the lower part can be traced back to Persian and Tartaric garments, and adds considerably to its graceful effect in wear (Plate XIII a). The giubba is made of a rich reddish brown face cloth of fine quality, and consists of five pieces, two fronts of fairly straight cut (Plate XIII b), a back which includes a long narrow gore tapering to the bottom of the skirt as shown in " c " on Plate XIII, and two circular shaped pieces which fit the gore and the side edges of the fronts. On the seam thus formed there is a long pocket-like decoration in which, at the bottom, there is a tiny two-inch slot, from which one or more patterned silk handkerchiefs may hang. [174]

As will be seen from the measurements given on the plate, the garment is such as would fit a small and slender woman.

The coat is handsomely braided in black, three kinds of material being used, a thin and a thick twisted silk cord, the latter being usually applied on top of a closely laid fine cord, as indicated at " d " and " f " on Plate XIII, and a plaited silk braid which is used in rows to make the waved border all round the front and circular skirt part. Above this waved band a version of the popular continuous scroll, like an Ionic wave, forms two rows of trimming and for its working two operations are needed, a single line of cord, the darker in the drawing at " e " on Plate XIII, is sewn down first, and then a second row with little twirls at the top of the curve fills in the spaces of the first.

Some indication of the style of the patterns and their layout has been attempted at " b " and " c ", limitation of space preventing enlargements on a more adequate scale.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6

A
V
583
515
531

"As a rule these embroidered towels are from wedding outfits, the bride's coffer." (M.E.D.).

A
286
515
531

No. 1937-11. Perhaps the most interesting of the embroidered group is an old marama bought at Prizren in 1908, which is probably Moslem Albanian work. It is of fine hand-spun and loosely woven cotton rather like a muslin, with groups of wide, double weft stripes in cotton and finer weft stripes in silk.

In its length of four feet there are five plainly woven bands, three inches wide, decorated with free spool-woven "ibriks" or water vessels, and the plainly woven ends are embroidered. (Plate XVIIA).

A
171
174
264

"The ibrik is a spouted vessel used to pour water on guests' hands before and after a meal. As no forks are used fingers needed washing, and it is probable that the native was taught hand-washing at meals by the Turk, who was not such a bad fellow as some people make out. 'Marama' and 'ibrik' are both Turkish words." (M.E.D.).

The two tethered beasts are worked in a violet-red silk in pulled stitch ("c" Plate XV), with outlines in pale blue and cream of the Turkish stitch shown at vi. in "d" on the same plate. This stitch, in apricot pink and pale yellow with a pale blue outline, is also used for filling in the animals' legs.

The "tree of life", to which the beasts are tethered by chains made of squares of gold thread, has a stem of gold plate worked diagonally bearing green leaves. The spots are worked in gold plate and the whole design has affinities with Persian pattern.

S
286
515
531

No. 1937-12. Another "marama" of a similar weave, also with stripes weft of cotton and silk, has its ends embroidered with a procession of boldly stylised cocks, gaily worked in aniline dyed silks and gold thread (Plate XVIIB). Although the use of aniline dyes indicates that this towel is not very old, the pattern is probably a traditional one.

The body of each cock is outlined and the feet are worked in black, the head and most of the body is filled in with a flat or satin stitch in gold thread, as indicated by the slanting lines in the enlarged drawing, with a band of pulled stitch across the middle worked in violet. At the extreme edge there is a narrow border worked in coral pink, a colour which is also introduced as a small patch on the cock's neck.

S
A
286
515
531

No. 1937-13. A motive representing "the dove returning to the ark" is repeated at the ends of a guest towel made of machine woven muslin (Plate XVIIC).

"This marama was obtained from Prizren and might be either Christian, Serb or Albanian work. The Ark seems to be based on the state galleys of the Middle Ages when Venice held the Adriatic coast, and is probably a traditional design. The curious running pattern below looks as though it might be symbolic, possibly a conventionalised dove, just the head and legs." (M.E.D.).*

The dark lines in the drawing are all worked in green in Turkish stitch, the bank of oars in the same stitch in red, and the dove in violet. The slanting lines represent flat or satin stitch worked in gold thread. Turkish stitch in violet, with a gold thread line down the centre, is used for the little border below the ark design. The whole of the plain part of the towel has a rolled edge very neatly oversewn, but where

* M. E. Durham: "Some Balkan Embroideries." *Man.* Vol. XXIII, No. 5, 1923.

11: Start E-4 (no date) 1939 EF1 Yugoslavia EF1
Albania EG1
Serbs EF6
Montenegrins EF5

M
286
531

It requires seven spools to work each flower, and an attempt to show how much is worked by each is made in Figure 10, where lines enclose the work done by the individual spools.

Some warp stripes in white form a border down the selvedges, and white weft stripes enclose a small square repeat in white and blue which divides the main pattern from the ends.

Twisted and knotted warp ends form a fringe which finishes off the whole.

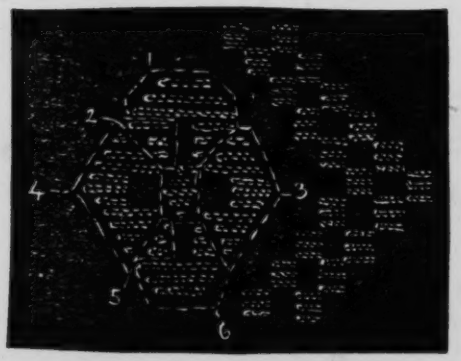

FIG. 10.—A motive from the Kolasin cloth, showing portion of pattern worked by each spool.

S
A
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Y
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868
174

The study of such a collection of work as this impresses one with the artistic achievement of the peasant peoples of these two mountainous countries where the conditions of life are hard, and where the arts of weaving and embroidery have grown out of the daily needs of the people and that inborn desire to make homely things beautiful.

Much naive charm, as well as expert manipulation, is expressed in the variations of the patterns in embroidery and tapestry weaving that have descended for generations from mother to daughter, and the technical skill displayed in the workmanship can be the more appreciated when one realizes the limitations imposed by the use of home grown, spun and dyed materials, and primitive tools. The tribal groups or social communities which form the nucleus of most villages have played a large part in perpetuating traditional patterns and craftsmanship, and have therefore some responsibility for many of the beautiful pieces of work.

The more sophisticated garments worn in the towns, particularly in Albania, owe something of their attractiveness to Byzantine art, which has come through Turkish influence, and is traceable in the fine braided patterns worked by the Albanian tailors, which both in beauty of design and workmanship are unsurpassed elsewhere.

In conclusion, I should like to express the personal pleasure I have had in working through this interesting and valuable collection so generously given to Bankfield Museum by Miss Durham, and my indebtedness to Dr. Hodge, the Keeper, for affording me the opportunity of doing so.

Manchester University,
May 1939.

9:Megas I, B-5,4 (no date) 1951 EH1 Greece
Albania EG1

III. THE HOUSES OF THE ALBANIANS

The Albanians, as descendants of the ancient Illyrians (1), belong, as well as the Greeks, to the most ancient inhabitants of the Haimos Peninsula, but they have not developed their own civilization either in ancient times nor in medieval years. Living almost isolated on a mountainous and inaccessible country, the Albanians have retained for many centuries their ancient customs, and even to-day they represent the patriarchal level in the evolution of civilization (2). This is the reason why everything connected with the life and the dwellings of the Albanians presents a particular interest to the numerous foreign tourists and ethnographers who, from time to time, have made relative surveys. 101

The most complete survey on the dwellings of the Albanians is, as far as I know, the book on Albania by Franz Baron Nopcsa (3). In this book, the author has summed up his previous impressions on housing in Northern Albania (4), and, at the same time, took into 342 114

1) The question of the origin of Albanians has not yet been clarified. Some recent linguistic surveys question the origin of the Albanian language from the Illyrian and accept a rather close relation between the Albanian and Thracian languages. C. Patsch (see **Herbert Louis,** Albanien, Stuttgart, 1927, p. 41) has found traces of Thracians near the Adriatic sea. [174]

2) See **K. Amantos,** Οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες τῆς Ἑλλάδος, Athens, 1923, pp. 129-189. **A. Keramopoulos,** Οἱ Ἕλληνες καὶ οἱ Βόρειοι Γείτονες. Athens, 1915, p. 198. Compare the journeys of **K. Steinmetz, E. Liebest,** and **Fr. Nopcsa** in »Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von C. Patsch, vol. I 3. 6 10. 11. **Baschmakoff,** A travers le Montenegro et le pays de Geuges, St. Petrsb. 1911 and **H. Louis,** pp. 36-40.

3) **Franz Baron Nopcsa,** Albanien, Bauten, Trachten, Geräte, Nordalbaniens, Berlin und Leipzig, 1925. Nopcsa is followed by **H. Louis,** on the subject of Albanian houses (p. 53-59).

4) **Fr. Baron Nopcsa,** Aus Sala und Klementi (Zur Kunde der Balkanhalbinsel hrsg. von Patsh, vol. II) Sarajevo 1910. Haus und Hausrath im Katholischen Nordalbanien (volume 16) Sarajevo 1912.